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President Kim Il Sung's Visit to USSR Turning Point in Raising Pyongyang-Moscow Relations Onto Higher Stage

President Kim Il Sung was warmly welcomed by President Konstantin U. Chernenko when the Korean leader was invited to a function welcoming his visit to the USSR. (KCNA Radiophoto)

President Kim Il Sung and President Konstantin U. Chernenko shared the view that the visit of President Kim Il Sung to the Soviet Union raised the traditional Pyongyang-Moscow ties to a new stage..

President Kim Il Sung leading the DPRK party and state delegation for an official goodwill visit to the Soviet Union arrived in Moscow on May 23 by special train.

The delegation was invited by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

President Kim Il Sung and his party received a warm welcome from Soviet leaders at the railway station. Later, a function welcoming President Kim Il Sung was held in the Kremlin. He was warmly welcomed by Mr. K.U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

At Banquet

On the evening of May 23, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics arranged a grand banquet in the Kremlin Palace in honour of President Kim Il Sung. Inivted there were the members of the DPRK party and state delegation O Jin U, Member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and Minister of People's Armed Forces;

Kang Song San, Member of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and Premier of the Administration Council;

Li Jong Ok, Member of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and vice-President of the DPRK;

Kim Yong Nam, Member of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee, vice-Premier of the Administration Council and Foreign Minister;

Kong Jin Tae, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committe and vice-Premier of the Administration Council,

Kwon Hui Gyong, Alternate Member of the WPK Central Committee and DPRK Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, and suite members.

(Continued on page 2)

Present Burning Issue Is to Prevent a New World War

Speech of President Kim Il Sung

At Banquet in Grand Kremlin Palace

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the USSR arranged a grand banquet in the Grand Kremlin Palace on the evening of May 23 in welcome of President Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Follows the full text of the speech of President Kim Il Sung at the banquet:

Esteemed Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko,

Esteemed leaders of the Soviet Party and Government,

Comrades and friends,

Today we are very much pleased to have a meaningful meeting with the leaders of the Soviet Party and Government and share comradely friendship with them, on our arrival in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union, a close neighbour of ours and the land of our old comrades-in-arms.

We have had a happy and pleasant journey since the very moment of our entry into the land of the Soviet Union, thanks to the deep attention and warm hospitality shown us by the Soviet comrades. During our journey to Moscow across the vast land of Siberia, we have witnessed and got a deep impression of the magnificent struggle of the Soviet people to build socialism and communism.

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to you for your kind reception for us and to Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko for the excellent speech of overflowing friendship he has made right here. Also I would like to convey the warm fraternal greetings from our Party, Government and people to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people.

We are on this visit with a noble desire to consolidate and develop further the traditional friendship between Korea and the Soviet Union, to learn from the valuable success and from advanced experience of the Soviet people in their building of socialism, and to extend and develop exchange and cooperation between the two countries onto a higher plane.

Korea and the Soviet Union are friendly neighbours which border on the same river. The Korean and Soviet peoples are class brothers and close comrades-in-arms who have fought in cooperation for their common ideal and purpose for a long time.

Korea-Soviet friendship is based on the relations of unbreakable class alliance and comradeship and has a long historical tradition.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the communists and the peoples of our two countries have long been fighting shoulder to shoulder against imperialist aggression and colonialist oppression and closely supporting and cooperating with each other for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism. The relations of friendship and cooperation between Korea and the Soviet Union have developed continuously down through to this date in the interests of the two peoples and as required by the cause of socialism and communism.

In the past, the Soviet people shed blood in helping our people to liberate our country. Both in the period of the Fatherland Liberation War against U.S. imperialist aggression and in the difficult years of postwar reconstruction, they gave us material and moral support and encouragement. Still today, they are giving active support and assistance to our people in the struggle for socialist construction and for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. Our people always remember it and feel grateful for it.

The Soviet Union is the homeland of Leninism and the first socialist state in the world.

Under the banner of Leninism, the Soviet people repelled imperialist aggression and crushed the resistance of the domestic counter-revolutionary forces, and pioneered an unbeaten path of socialism. By a long-drawn-out arduous struggle they have built their country into a developed socialist power as it is today.

Today, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, the Soviet people are making a great success in their struggle to win the cause of socialism and communism by implementing the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and of the recent plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee.

The Korean people rejoice, just as over their own, over the success of the Communist Party and people of the Soviet Union in the revolution and construction and heartily wish them more brilliant success in their future struggle to complete the building of a developed socialist society.

Comrades and friends,

The burning issue which confronts mankind at present is to prevent a new world war and safeguard peace.

Today the international situation is very tense because of the adventurous power politics pursued by imperialists and their war manoeuvrings, and the danger of a new war is daily growing on the globe.

It is the most important and urgent matter that the peoples of the socialist countries and all the progressive people in other parts of the world fight all out to prevent a new world war and safeguard peace.

The Communist Party, Government and people of the Soviet Union are fighting resolutely for peace and security in Europe and the rest of the world against the imperialists' aggressive policy and their moves to provoke a new war.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of our Republic actively support the just stand and measures taken by the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union to ease the international tension and to remove the danger of a new world war, a thermonuclear war, and express their firm solidarity with the Soviet people in their struggle to implement these measures.

In order to ease the international tension and prevent a new global war, it is important to dispel the tension in Asia and the Korean Peninsula.

With a view to lessening the tension and averting a war in the Korean Peninsula, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of our Republic maintain invariably the policy of peaceful national reunification.

Recently our Party and the Government of our Republic made a new proposal for tripartite talks between the DPRK, the United States and south Korea, precisely for the fundamental purpose of easing the tension and removing the war danger from the Korean Peninsula and thus creating a situation and precondition for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

Today the governments and peoples of the Soviet Union and many other countries actively support our proposals for peaceful national reunification and for tripartite talks.

We firmly believe that the cause of the reunification of the country, which is our nation's supreme desire, will be accomplished in a peaceful way, with active support and encouragement from the fraternal Soviet people and the progressive people of the world.

Communism represents the bright future of mankind, and the building of a socialist and communist society is the most important revolutionary task of the parties and states of socialist countries.

In order to promote successfully the building of socialism and communism, the socialist countries must properly enlist the creative abilities of their own peoples and, at the same time, strengthen their international solidarity and cooperation.

The might of socialism consists in solidarity and cooperation. Only when they strengthen solidarity and cooperation can each of the socialist countries thwart the economic blockade and all obstructive moves of imperialists, and ensure success in building socialism. Only then can all the socialist forces counter the allied imperialist forces with their unbreakable strength of unity and solidarity.

Our Party and Government attach great importance to solidarity and cooperation with the brotherly socialist countries. They are striving to further consolidate and develop them, and are struggling to contribute to strengthening the socialist forces as a whole, by building socialism successfully in our country.

Our Party and Government will, in the future, steadily develop friendship, solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, for the successful building of socialism in our country and for the further consolidation of all the socialist forces.

We hope that during this visit we will sincerely discuss with the Soviet Party and state leaders the effective ways of expanding and developing the friendly and cooperative relations between our two countries in all fields and in an all-round way, the current international situation and other matters of common concern, and that comradeship and confidence in each other will be further promoted.

I firmly believe that our visit to the Soviet Union will bear good fruit to meet the expectations of the Korean and Soviet peoples, and will mark a turning point in developing the traditional Korea-Soviet friendship onto a higher stage.

Highly pleased at our meeting the Soviet Party and Government leaders, our intimate friends, in this joyful place, I would like to propose a toast:

To everlasting friendship and solidarity between the Korean and Soviet peoples,

To the strengthening and development of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the prosperity of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

To the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries and the international communist movement,

To world peace,

To the good health of esteemed Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko,

To the good health of Party and Government leaders of the Soviet Union,

To the health of comrades and friends present here.

(Continued from page 1)

Attending the banquet were K.U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Predium of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

N.A. Tikhonov, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committe and Chairman of the Council of Ministers;

V.I. Virotnikov, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic;

M.S. Gorbachev, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the Party Central Committee;

V.V. Grishin, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee;

A.A. Gromyko, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union;

G.V. Romanov, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the Party Central Committee;

M.S. Solomentsev, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Party Control Committee under the Party Central Committee;

D.F. Ustinov, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Defence of the Soviet Union;

P.N. Demichev, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Culture of the Soviet Union;

V.I. Dolgikh, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the Party Central Committee;

V.V. Kuznetsov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and First Deputy President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

B.N. Ponomaryov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the Party Central Committee;

M.V. Dimyanin, I.V. Kapitonov, K.V. Rusakov and N.I. Ryzhkov, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, A.F. Ryuitsel, and B. Yazkuliyev, deputy presidents of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

N.K. Baibakov and N.V. Talyzin, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union;

N.M. Shubnikov, Soviet Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the DPRK, and other leading functionaries of the party and power bodies and the army.

In a speech at the banquet, President Kim Il Sung stated:

"I firmly believe that our visit to the Soviet Union will bear good fruit to meet the expectations of the Korean and Soviet peoples, and will mark a turning point in developing the traditional Korea-Soviet friendship onto a higher stage." **(See Page 2)**

He stressed in his banquet speech:

"In the past, the Soviet people shed blood in helping our people to liberate our country. Both in the period of the Fatherland Liberation War against U.S. imperialist aggression and in the difficult years of postwar reconstruction, they gave us material and moral support and encouragement. Still today, they are giving active support and assistance to our people in the struggle for socialist construction and for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. Our people always remember it and feel grateful for it."

Stressing the need to prevent a new world war and safeguard peace, the Korean leader said, "it is important to dispel the tension in Asia and the Korean Peninsula."

(Continued on page 4)

WPK General Secretary Kim Il Sung and CPSU counterpart K.U. Chernenko held talks on May 24 in the Kremlin. (KCNA Radiophoto)

We Support DPRK's Important Initiatives

Speech of President K.U. Chernenko

At Banquet in Grand Kremlin Palace

K.U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, made a speech at the grand banquet arranged by the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the USSR on May 23 in honor of President Kim Il Sung.

Noting that strong historical bonds of friendship link the two peoples and the two countries K.U. Chernenko said:

The Soviet people remember the heroic deeds of the Korean partisans, who waged a courageous struggle against the Japanese enslavers in difficult conditions. We jointly fought against Japanese militarism during the hard years of the Second World War. Thousands of Soviet servicemen fell in the fighting for the freedom and independence of Korea. The peoples of our countries hold sacred the memory of them.

We were together with the fraternal Korean people in its struggle against the aggression of United States imperialism, helped overcome the destructive consequences of that aggression. Our countries have built and continue building a socialist society in close cooperation.

Twenty-three years ago, a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance was signed here in the Moscow Kremlin. It has become a reliable foundation for the development of Soviet-Korean relations, an important factor of peace and security in the Far East.

The Korean working people guided by the Workers' Party of Korea, its Central Committee with Comrade Kim Il Sung at its head have scored major successes in building socialism. The Republic has now a developed industry and highly productive agriculture. The culture and well-being of the people are on a rise. The Soviet people are gratified by the achievements of the Korean friends.

It can be stated with a feeling of satisfaction that Soviet-Korean relations are developing successfully in the important sections of socialist construction. Economic links are growing. Contacts in the field of culture, science and education are widening.

Of course, the possibilities of our cooperation are far from being exhausted. It can be further expanded, and not only in the economic field. Exchanges of experience in party and state work and interaction in the sphere of international activities are becoming, we believe, ever more important now.

We attach much importance to the forthcoming talks. They will undoubtedly help to raise the Soviet-Korean ties to a new stage. I would like to stress here once again that the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government will continue exerting efforts to consolidate our cooperation on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The Soviet people well know and understand the fundamental national problem for whose solution the Korean people is struggling perseveringly. It is the problem of reunifying a country which has been split up through the fault of American imperialism.

The Soviet Union consistently stands for Korea to be reunified by peaceful means, on a democratic basis, after the withdrawal of American troops from south Korea. This is our firm and invariable position. We support the DPRK's important initiatives which provide for signing a peace treaty instead of the existing armistice agreement, adopting a declaration on non-aggression between north and south, carrying out mutual reductions of armed forces and making the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-weapons-free zone. To realize these proposals is substantially to ameliorate the situation in Korea and create favourable conditions for productive dialogue between north and south.

The forces of imperialism and reaction are throwing up additional obstacles on the way to a just solution to the Korean question which is sufficiently complicated per se. These include the build-up of the U.S. armed contingent in the south of Korea and the shows of American military might, which have been growing in scope with every passing year and which involve combat units of also south Korea and Japan. I should say that we are seriously worried by such a dangerous seat of military tension close to the state borders of the Soviet Union.

For the imperialists the Asian Continent is another, eastern, front of struggle against socialist states. The United States has spun a web of military bases and strongpoints there and deployed nuclear weapons. Lying within the range of these weapons is not only the territory of the Soviet Union but also the territories of other socialist, and not only socialist, states in Asia and the Pacific. It should be recalled that it is the Asian Continent that has become the first testing range where the United States has made combat applications of nuclear weapons.

"Divide and rule" is a traditional method of the colonizers. Nowadays the imperialists are continuing to apply the tactics of disuniting peoples and setting one country against another. In spite of the what appears to be instructive experience of the disgraceful collapse of such anti-communist alliances as CENTO and SEATO, they are again trying to forge militarist axes and triangles like the aggressive Washington-Tokyo-Seoul bloc. We are against such geopolitics, against all manner of "spheres of influence" and "zones of interests", against closed military groupings anywhere and in the Pacific, in particular. The latter belongs to all, it can and must become an ocean of peace and good neighbourliness, which would bring the peoples closer together rather than separate them.

And isn't the U.S. policy of reviving and strengthening Japanese militarism destabilizing the situation in Asia? They in Washington do not conceal their intentions to convert Japan into a kind of their "unsinkable aircraft carrier." This is a dangerous game, since Japanese imperialism has on more than one occasion now revealed its expansionist's, colonizer's essence and has on more than one occasion unleashed war. In Tokyo, in the meantime, revanchist notes are again being struck and territorial claims laid. Attempts to repeat history, and on a more dangerous basis at that, in the age of nuclear weapons cannot but make the Asian states apprehensive. These attempts do not augur anything good for Japan either.

The peoples of Asia have different histories and different social systems, but their basic interests can be brought to a common denom-

(Continued on Page 4)

Photo shows WPK General Secretary Kim Il Sung and his splendid counterpart CPSU General Secretary K.U. Chernenko in front of the Kremlin Palace who are going to take part in the reception ceremony held in honor of President Kim Il Sung.

Continued from page 2

inator which is the desire for peace and good-neighbourly relations, the renunciation of the use of force, the settlement of contentious issues and conflicts by peaceful means, equality and independence, respect for sovereignty and the inviolability of the borders, non-interference in domestic affairs, the development of economic and other cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit, and an independent free choice of the road of social development. On such principles, we are sure, the peoples of Asia can find a common language.

The Soviet Union is consistently in favour of starting an active, conscientious search for ways to improve the situation in the Asian Continent without wasting precious time. As is known, the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proposed that talks be conducted on confidence-building measures in the Far East with all interested countries. Implementation of such measures would substantially help consolidate the foundations of universal peace.

Well-known are the DPRK's peace initiatives directed at lessening tension in Korea, in the Far East. The world public positively assessed the proposal advanced by the Mongolian People's Republic that a convention be concluded on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between states in Asia and the Pacific. We fully approve of the constructive stance and peace initiatives of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea which, courageously opposing attacks from imperialism and hegemonism in Southeast Asia, call for mutual understanding and normalisation of relations between states of the region, for its transformation into a zone of peace and stability. The non-aligned movement advances quite a few useful and constructive ideas.

We think that such a factor as relations between the Soviet Union and China is also very essential for the development of the situation in the Asian Continent. Our country consistently favours their normalisation and improvement, but, naturally, not at the expense of third countries. Progress in Soviet-Chinese relations, the PRC's participation in the peoples' struggle to prevent war would, undoubtedly facilitate the growth of the role of socialism in international affairs, consolidation of the positions of forces committed to peace.

We are far from thinking that Asian problems can be resolved within a brief period with the help of a single conference or agreement. Still, a beginning must be made. As a Korean proverb has it, a journey of one thousand *ri* starts with the first step.

Esteemed Comrade Kim Il Sung,

Esteemed Korean friends,

Staying in our country, you were able to see that all the aspirations of Soviet people are directed towards peaceful construction.

In the international arena, our chief efforts are directed at blocking the road to imperialism's extremely dangerous policy, stopping the arms race and ensuring a peaceful life for peoples. The Soviet Union does not seek military superiority. At the same time, it will never allow that its defence capabilities be below the level necessary for repulsing any aggression. We will be able to defend our historic accomplishments, our state interests, as well as the interests and security of our allies. No one should have any doubts about that.

These are complicated and tense times. And it has never been so important that all forces of peace and progress – countries of socialism, communist and workers' parties, national liberation, anti-imperialist movements – act in unity and cohesion.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish the Korean people new big achievements in fulfilling the plans of socialist construction, advanced by the Workers' Party of Korea. We wish that the Korean people were united into one peace-loving democratic state.

(Continued from page 2)

"Recently our Party and the Government of our Republic made a new proposal for tripartite talks between the DPRK, the United States and south Korea, precisely for the fundamental purpose of easing the tension and removing the war danger from the Korean Peninsula and thus creating situation and precondition for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country," said the DPRK President in his banquet speech.

President K.U. Chernenko supported the efforts made by the Workers' Party of Korea and the DPRK Government for a negotiated settlement to the Korean question in his banquet speech.

"The Soviet Union consistently stands for Korea to be reunified by peaceful means, on a democratic basis, after the withdrawal of American troops from south Korea. This is our firm and invariable position. We support the DPRK's important initiatives which provide for signing a peace treaty instead of the existing Armistice Agreement, adopting a declaration on non-aggression between north and south, carrying out mutual reductions of armed forces and making the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-weapons-free zone," said the Soviet leader in his banquet speech. **(See Page 3)**

Noting that strong historical bonds of friendship link the two peoples and the two countries, Mr. Chernenko said:

"The Soviet people remember the heroic deeds of the Korean partisans, who waged a courageous struggle against Japanese militarism during the hard years of the Second World War."

In his banquet speech, he warned of strengthened military cooperation between Washington, Tokyo and Seoul. He said the U.S. policy of reviving and strengthening Japanese militarism is a major factor "destablizing the situation in Asia."

At Summit Talks

During his May 23-25 stay in the Soviet Union President Kim Il Sung held a series of talks with President K.U. Chernenko.

Talks were held once on May 24 and twice on May 25. The KCNA said all those talks proceeded in "a comradely, sincere and friendly atmosphere".

The KCNA gave a detailed account of the final meeting of two leaders.

The KCNA said:

"At the talks information was given each other on the situation in the two countries and views were exchanged on the problem of further expanding and developing the friendly and cooperative relations between the two parties and two countries and on a series of matters of common concern.

"The two sides pointed out with satisfaction that the friendly and cooperative relations between Korea and the Soviet Union are developing in various fields of the party, state, economic and social life and discussed practical measures to expand and deepen these friendly and cooperative relations.

"Comrade Kim Il Sung expressed thanks to the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union and Comrade K.U. Chernenko for inviting the party and state delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

"He gave information about the successes made by our people in socialist construction under the wise leadership of the Party and explained the just and realistic initiatives of the DPRK for reunifying the country independently and peacefully.

"Giving an analysis of the situation on the Korean Peninsula, he pointed to the stand of our Party against the imperialist aggressive manoeuvres and for easing the tension in Korea and safeguarding peace in Asia and the world.

"Comrade Kim Il Sung invited Comrade K.U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to pay a goodwill visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

"The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

"At the talks Comrade K.U. Chernenko warmly hailed the achievements of the working people of the DPRK in socialist construction and said that their successes are a fruition of the energetic leadership of the WPK Central Committee headed by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

"He stressed that the Soviet party and government resolutely support the struggle of the Korean people for making the U.S. troops withdraw from south Korea and achieving the reunification of the country on a democratic basis free from any outside interference.

"He gave information about the creative endeavours of the Soviet people for implementing the decisions of the 26th Congress of the party and the subsequent plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee under the leadership of the CPSU.

"Comrade K.U. Chernenko referred to the international situation and expressed the stand of the Soviet party and government against the imperialist aggressive manoeuvres."

Talks were also held respectively between Kang Song San, Premier of the Administration Council, and N.A. Tikhonov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, between Foreign Minister Kim Yong Na m and his Soviet counterpart A.A. Gromyko and between O. Jin U., Minister of People's Armed Forces, and D.F. Ustinov, Minister of Defence of the Soviet Union on May 24. The KCNA reported from Moscow that meetings "proceeded in a sincere and friendly atmosphere." No details were released of these talks.

President Kim Il Sung and his party left Moscow on May 25 by special train for a planned tour of East European countries after concluding a succęssful visit to the Soviet Union.

Epochal Event in History of Korea-Soviet Friendship

— Rodong Sinmun —

All papers in Pyongyang on May 23 carried editorials in connection with the expected arrival on May 23 in Moscow of President Kim Il Sung, leading a party and state delegation of the DPRK on an official goodwill visit to the Soviet Union upon the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, KCNA reported.

In an editorial headlined "Epochal Event in the History of the Korean-Soviet Friendship" Rodong Sinmun (organ of the CC of the WPK) said:

The current visit of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung to the Soviet Union is an epochal event in the history of the Korean-Soviet friendship. It carries weighty significance in further strengthening the traditional friendship and unity between the Korean and Soviet peoples and expanding their cooperative relations and developing them to a higher stage.

Our people warmly hail his historical visit to the Soviet Union.

Korea and the Soviet Union are close neighbours and the two peoples are class brothers and revolutionary comrades-in-arms who struggle shoulder to shoulder against imperialism and for the cause of socialism and communism.

The Soviet Union helped our people in the struggle against the Japanese imperialist colonial rule and for the liberation of the country and after the liberation was the first to recognize the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as the only legitimate government of the Korean people and has actively supported our Republic in the international arena.

In the period of the hard-fought Fatherland Liberation War of our people against the armed invasion of the U.S. imperialists the fraternal Soviet people rendered internationalist support and encouragement to us both materially and morally and they aided us in the period of postwar rehabilitation and construction.

Indeed, the Korean and Soviet peoples have supported and closely cooperated with each other in the struggle against imperialism and for the building of socialism and in this course they have forged unbreakable comradely fraternity and fraternal friendship.

The friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries will develop to a new higher stage in various fields through the visit of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

The fraternal Soviet people are a great people who carried out the first socialist revolution in history under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party founded by V.I. Lenin.

After the victory of the revolution they covered an untrodden path of socialism, repulsing the repeated subversive acts and armed intervention of the enemy at home and abroad and defending the gains of the revolution all alone in capitalist encirclement.

They played a decisive role in ensuring the victory in the Second World War by defeating the Hitlerite fascist clique and Japanese militarism in the war, thus reliably safeguarding their socialist motherland and making a great contribution to the cause of the liberation of many countries in Europe and Asia.

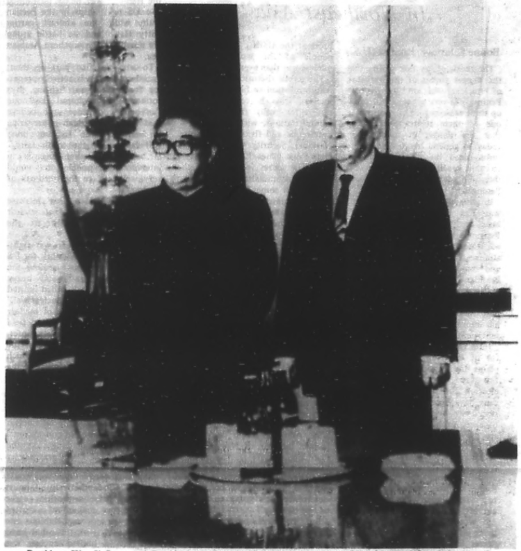
In the postwar period the Soviet people rehabilitated the war-ravaged economy and accelerated socialist construction, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, thereby turning their country into a socialist power with a modern industry and a developed agriculture, up-to-date science and technology and mighty national defence capabilities.

Today the fraternal Soviet people are waging a vigorous struggle for the completion of a developed socialist society under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade K.U. Chernenko, upholding the decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU and of a series of plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee held in recent years.

The results of the February Extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the First Session of the Eleventh Convocation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR showed the deep trust of the entire Soviet people in the Party and their firm determination to accelerate the cause of socialism and communism and their unity and cohesion.

The Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union are struggling actively to check and frustrate the imperialists' moves towards aggression and war and safeguard peace and security in Europe and the world.

The Soviet Government put forward constructive proposals for reducing nuclear weapons and preventing a nuclear war, decisively rejecting the imperialists' schemings to wreck the existing balance of forces and attain a unilateral superiority in the production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their transport means.



President Kim Il Sung and President Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko May 25 posed for a photograph prior to the tete-a-tete talks. (KCNA Radiophoto)

The Soviet Party, Government and people bitterly denounce the nation-splitting manoeuvres and war moves of the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean puppets and extend full support and solidarity for our people's struggle for peace in Korea and her independent and peaceful reunification. This is a great inspiration to our people.

The Korean people sincerely rejoice as over their own over the successes achieved by the fraternal Soviet people in the building of socialism and communism and support the just steps and constructive proposals of the Soviet Party and Government for defence of world peace.

Korea and the Soviet Union are allies linked together by class bonds in the struggle for the common purpose and ideal.

To expand and strengthen friendship, unity and cooperation between the two peoples is greatly conducive to the promotion of the revolution and construction in the two countries, growth of the world socialist forces and accomplishment of the people's cause of peace.

Our people set great store by the relations of friendship, unity and cooperation with the fraternal Soviet people. It is a consistent policy of our Party to strengthen Korean-Soviet friendship.

Our people will as ever actively strive to strengthen friendship and unity with the Soviet people and always advance shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet people in the common struggle against imperialism and for the cause of socialism and communism.

We are convinced that the visit of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung to the Soviet Union will bear fine fruits to record a new shining chapter in the annals of Korean-Soviet friendship.

Int'l Workshop on Korean Situation Held in Tokyo

The "International Workshop for Easing Tensions and for Peace on the Korean Peninsula" was held on the afternoon of May 19 at the Second Hall of the All-Japan Federation of Prefectural and Municipal Workers' Unions, near Ichigaya Station, Tokyo, Japan, under the auspices of the Executive Committee for the Workshop which was formed by the Foreigners' Committee in Japan to Support the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea.

It was participated in by more than 50 attendants including scholars, cultural leaders, journalists and other prominent figures from 17 countries including the U.S.A., Britain, West Germany, Italy and Japan.

At the workshop , Mr. Boone Schirmer, ex-professor at Boston University, a peace activist in the U.S.A. made a special report under the title "Danger of Nuclear War in Northeast Asia." (See the gist of his speech on page 6)

He said in the report, that a danger of nuclear war is gathering day by day on the Korean Peninsula, in Europe and in the Middle East owing to the Reagan administration most bellicose of the successive U.S. administrations.

He stressed that the danger on the Korean Peninsula is greater than in any regions of these three regions and that if a nuclear war would break out it would not be "a limited nuclear war" but "an all-out nuclear war."

He was followed by President Thor Vilhjalmsson of the Iceland Pen Club under the title "How Should We Ensure the Right to Live"; Professor Seki Hiroharu at the University of Tokyo under the title "International Surroundings for Peaceful Solution of the Korean Problem"; Dr. Baker Abdel Munem, PLO Representative to Japan, under the title "Self-Determination for Korean and Palestinian Peoples"; and Mr. Iue Meyer, a free-lance French writer, under the title "The Question of Noninterference in the Internal Affairs of Other Countries."

Unanimously denouncing the nuclear war policy of the U.S. against the Korean Peninsula, reporters said "It is no good that peace of the world is disturbed owing to the U.S. (President Thor Vilhjalmsson), and "If the Korean question is solved, the cold war structure will be changed for peace and denuclearization of the world (Professor Seki Hiroharu)".

Reporters said that the three-way talks proposed by the DPRK should be realized by all means for preventing a danger of nuclear war and achieving Korea's reunification.

"The Palestinians fully support the proposal for the three-way talks." (PLO Representative to Japan)

After active exchange of questions and answers, the workshop unanimously adopted an appeal for eased tension and peace on the Korean Peninsula and an appeal for immediate release of the brothers So Sung and So Jun Shik.

((See the box on page 6)

Int'l Workshop on Korea

The People's Korea introduces summaries of speeches by some of main speakers made at the international workshop which may interest our readers.

Follows the gist of a speech of Mr. Boone Schirmer, an American pacifist and former professor of Boston University.

"Danger of Nuclear War In Northeast Asia"

Boone Schirmer, Pacifist (U.S.)

The thesis of my talk will be that the danger today of the outbreak of nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula is very great. I will develop three reasons for this assertion – one of them relates to the fact that the danger of nuclear war today in general has become more pronounced; the other two relating to the specific reasons for this increased danger on the Korean Peninsula.

In general the danger of nuclear war has become greater today because of the policies of the Reagan Administration of the United States. Perhaps this may sound strange to those who live in Japan and remember that when the US President was in Japan last fall he made a speech in favor of peace and nuclear disarmament. In the past few months the President has more than once uttered such sentiments at home, too.

John Oakes, formerly senior editor of the New York Times explains the President's behavior in this way: "...with a Presidential election looming, enough Americans have become so shocked and scared by his 'big stick' solution to every problem that his advisers are now emphasizing the 'speak softly' role."

Similarly, to 'speak softly' in Japan would help quiet the fears aroused among the Japanese by Prime Minister Nakasone's pledge to make Japan "an unsinkable aircraft carrier" for the Pentagon.

It would be wrong for anyone living either in Japan or the United States to be lulled asleep by Mr. Reagan's soft talk. On the contrary it is evident that Mr. Reagan represents one of the most bellicose chief executives of the United States, if not THE most bellicose.

Consider his personal record. While still a Democrat in the early '50s Reagan broke with President Truman over half-way measures he believed were being employed in the Korean War. He was critical of President Johnson for waging a "no win" war in Vietnam. He criticized Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger for the "give away" of the Panama Canal, and attacked Carter for "weakness and neglect of the military."

By the policies of his Administration President Reagan has brought the United States and the people of the world closer to nuclear war than ever.

The public rhetoric of the Reagan Administration so far as the use of nuclear arms is concerned does not differ really from preceding administrations, with emphasis on deterrence and flexibility. But the National Security expert of the New York Times, Lesley Gelb says: "...The secret war plans of the Reagan Administration seem to carry truth somewhat beyond previous Administrations in emphasizing actual war fighting and winning. Mr. Gelb mentions a secret document, National Security Decision Document No. 13, approved by the President. In this document these ideas relating to nuclear war shape out: developing the capability to strike military targets, being able to control and fight a prolonged battle and have the power to prevail.

The deployment of Tomahawk missiles on US warships in the Pacific is a matter of concern to many Japanese peace activists. In the opinion of one US citizen who should know, evidently these Tomahawk's are the very symbol of the danger in nuclear weapons policy initiated by Reagan. Retired Vice Admiral Ralph Weymouth, former director of Navy Program Planning at the Pentagon, says "I don't see how the long range Tomahawk missile with a nuclear warhead is going to be part of deterrence. It's going to be part of war fighting."

But emphasis on nuclear war fighting is not the only way in which the Reagan Administration sharpens the danger of nuclear war. It does this as well by its aggressively interventionist policy. In discussing the way a nuclear war could occur, the Times national security authority Gelb writes: "Conventional war escalates to nuclear war ... is the case that worries the experts for most of this decade." Consider this, and then remember that Mr. Reagan has plainly distinguished himself as a leader who relies on nuclear power to achieve political objectives. He seems prone to take military risks that could lead to conventional and ultimately nuclear war.

He invaded Grenada. He put the marines in Lebanon. He has armed Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries and mined Nicaraguan harbors. He arms the government side in the civil war in El Salvador and provides it with military advisers. He has held Operation Team Spirit '84, the largest ever, involving over 200,000 US and south Korean troops in North East Asia, "a very volatile place" as Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke has called it. Preparing for further intervention in the Mideast pending the outcome of the Iran-Iraq war, he has positioned five US navy ships in the Persian Gulf, while the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk and its battle group are nearby in the northern Arabian Sea.

To sum the first part up then: President Reagan is actively preparing for nuclear war fighting, says former Rear Admiral LaRoque "anyone who does not believe that President Reagan is preparing for nuclear war fighting must still believe in the tooth fairy." Mr. Reagan further engages in interventionist policies that could very well lead to the outbreak of nuclear war.

Now how does this increase in the general danger of nuclear war apply specifically to the Korean Peninsula?

In projecting nuclear war fighting as a distinct possibility for US policy, the strategists around the Reagan Administration lay heavy emphasis on what is called limited nuclear war. "Limited nuclear war" has to do with the use of nuclear weapons in theater or battlefield situations, rather than in intercontinental battle. It also has the meaning of a nuclear war in which the opponents and the allies of the United States government would be subject to nuclear attack, but in which the United States would not. I have mentioned that authorities see this possibility of nuclear war developing out of conventional war as the great danger at the present time. It is precisely a limited or theatre nuclear war into which such conventional war would develop. (Parenthetically I must say that most authorities agree that the very concept of a limited nuclear war is a very dubious one – my belief is on the other hand that such a limited nuclear war would rather quickly escalate into a full-fledged nuclear confrontation between the two nuclear superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union.)

To bring all this down to cases; there are three areas in the world today where the Pentagon has over the years proposed the possibility of fighting a limited nuclear war: Europe, the Middle East, and the Korean Peninsula. Since the topic of our discussion is nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula I would like to emphasize that the Korean Peninsula has the unhappy distinction of being first nuclearized in this connection. In August 1975, the then US Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger stated that he would not guarantee that nuclear weapons would not be used in a US-response to a renewed outbreak of fighting on the Korean Peninsula. In 1980 the Carter Administration projected the possibility of limited nuclear war in the Mideast, and in the first year of his Administration President Reagan discussed the possibility of a limited nuclear war in Europe.

Let us consider these new issues. Most authorities, especially I might add, the European ones, see very little likelihood that the Soviet Union will invade Western Europe and in this way trigger off a limited nuclear war on the European continent. On the other hand many knowledgeable people see the danger of the outbreak of war in the Mideast and the Korean Peninsula as a very real one. What makes the matter most threatening to the Korean Peninsula is the fact that the outbreak of war in the Mideast could very easily lead to the outbreak of war on the Korean Peninsula, if certain plans of the Reagan Administration are called on – as we shall soon see.

The possible outbreak of nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula provides the classic example of the way in which conventional war could escalate to nuclear war. The Korean Herald of Jan. 23, 1983 carried an interview with General Edward C. Meyer, Chief of Staff of the US Army, on the occasion of his visit to south Korea at that time. General Meyer said very plainly that if conventional warfare broke out on the Korean Peninsula and if in such a war the North Korean troops began to get the better of the south Korean and US troops, the United States command would not hesitate to escalate to the use of nuclear weapons to stop the North Koreans. The General even said that it would be easier to move to such nuclear escalation on the Korean Peninsula than on the European continent, because on the European continent the United States would have to consult with 15 other governments before proceeding to such escalation.

Should the US government wish to initiate nuclear war in the Korean Peninsula it is evidently well prepared to do so. According to a report by Jack Anderson in the Washington Post (May 4, 1983), the US Army has already deployed on Korean soil five hundred and eighty-eight (588) nuclear warheads of various types, including three hundred and forty (340) nuclear bombs and 21 anti-Demolition land mines placed at intervals all along the 150 mile DMZ, "ready to topple mountains into passes and fell whole forests."

Most of the world is perfectly aware of the fact that President Reagan is a dogmatic cold war ideologist who prefers to see every critical situation in the context of East-West confrontation

But when it comes to the possibility of limited nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula one thing should be perfectly clear – the responsibility for initiating and conducting such a limited nuclear war could rest on the shoulders of the United States and the United States alone. North Korea does not possess nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union does not deploy nuclear weapons on North Korean soil. There are, however, nuclear weapons deployed on the soil of south Korea, and they are deployed there by the United States government.

Another point must be made about the danger of nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula. This has to do with the presence of the anti-demolition nuclear land mines that are strung out just below the DMZ in south Korea. The presence of these nuclear land mines makes the escalation to nuclear war almost a foregone conclusion should North Korean troops over-run the DMZ. Should the latter event occur, the US President as commander-in-chief could be faced with the necessity of making a rapid decision – should he press a button and blow up the mines under the North Korean troop, really initiating nuclear war, or should he refrain from doing so and hence allow the North Korean troops to over-run and explode these nuclear land mines. How do you think Mr. Reagan would respond to such a dilemma?

Now let us pass on to the strong connection between the outbreak of war in the Mideast and the outbreak of nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula. To begin to understand this we have to talk about the use of a US threat of a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Perhaps the easiest way to introduce this matter is to recall that in the Mideast war of 1973 the United States at one point went on a full nuclear alert. Mr. Kissinger, who was Secretary of State at that time, later explained the reasons behind this move: it was designed by the US government to frighten the Soviet Union and prevent it from intervening in the Mideast.

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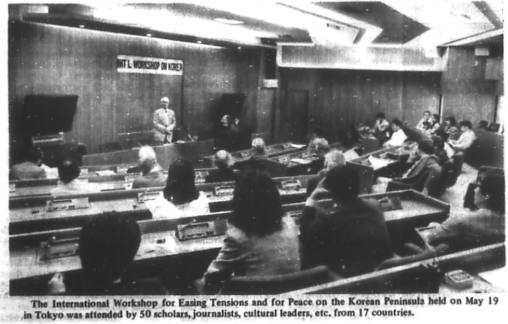

The International Workshop for Easing Tensions and for Peace on the Korean Peninsula held on May 19 in Tokyo was attended by 50 scholars, journalists, cultural leaders, etc. from 17 countries.

Appeals

Assembled in this international forum on May 19, 1984, we have applied ourselves to the question of easing tensions on the Korean Peninsula and a search for ways to avert the danger of war and establish peace.

The deployment of nuclear weapon in south Korea combined with the denial of democracy and deprivation of human rights have created a deep long-lasting crisis that threatens the peace not only of this part of the Far East but the whole world.

A new generation of nuclear missiles, Pershing IIs and Tomahawk cruise missiles are to be deployed, and this adds a new dimension to this threat of nuclear war in the whole of the Far East, with a greatly increased risk of a world nuclear holocaust.

We therefore call for a speedy negotiated solution to the Korean crisis to prevent any renewal of hostilities on the Korean Peninsula, to open the way to the restoration of democracy in south Korea, leading to the peaceful reunification of that arbitrarily divided country.

* * *

This international forum appeals for the immediate release of all political detainees in south Korea and demands that their full human and political rights be restored. We appeal especially for the release of the Soh brothers, Soh Sung and Soh Joon-Shik, students born in Japan who went to Korea to study and have been in prison there for 12 years, charged with having demanded restoration of democracy.

PEN President Advises Missile Pullout From S. Korea

By Kim Chong I
Special to The People's Korea

In his interview with The People's Korea reporter Per Wästberg, President of International PEN Club, advised withdrawal of nuclear missiles from south Korea. He also expressed his approval of the idea of holding three-way tlaks between Pyongyang, Washington and Seoul, saying "I approve and agree with any attempt to have such dialogue to reduce tension on the Korean Peninsula."

At the opening address of the 47th International PEN Congress which was held May 14–18 in a Tokyo hotel with participation of 620 delegates from 45 overseas PEN centers, he stressed a role of writers to the prevention of nuclear holocaust. He said "Destiny of human being has been grasped by scientists and politicians," pointing out that great literature tells people what threatens the life of the human race.

As the first PEN congress to put its theme "Literature in the Nuclear Age – Why We Write?", it drew internal and external much attention.

Mr. Per Wästberg, who also served as Amnesty International vice president during the period of 1964 to 1971, once was a member of Swedish delegations to the United Nations meetings on colonial and discrimination problems from 1966 to 1973.

He was also editor of the Swedish largest newspaper "Dagens Nyheter" for 7 years.

Called a "fighting writer" for his energetic international activities, he showed a deep understanding to the growing danger of nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula and stressed the necessity to withdraw all nuclear weapons from there, as he remarked, "I am naturally concerned about the potentially very dangerous situation in Korea. Therefore, I think, in principle, missiles should be withdrawn from south Korea. They should be withdrawn everywhere as far as possible from all the strained areas. I think that naturally the Korean Peninsula is one of the most tense areas in the world. I regard the presence of nuclear weapons in the Peninsula as very dangerous."

The 47th PEN Congress in Tokyo adopted a resolution which was jointly submitted by East and West Germany, together with Sweden on bringing a halt to the production and use of nuclear arms and the banning of bacteriological warfare.

Mr. Wästberg, commenting on the ban of nuclear weapons in connection with the establishment of a nuclear free zone in East Asia, said to the reporter of The People's Korea, "I think all nuclear free zones are much better than the present state."

"First, Germany should be a nuclear weapons-free zone", said Mr. Wästberg. He put East Asia as a second example of "one very essential nuclear free zone." "The third one", he added, "should be the Middle East."

While reading 19th century accounts of expeditions to Africa in his early days, he came to be interested in Africa. He became aware of freedom of speech, first when he was 13 years old.

Staying in Rhodesia (present Zimbabwe) in 1959, he witnessed harsh discrimination there and reported the condition in a Swedish paper.

As a result, he was expelled from Rhodesia by the then racist regime. Successive writings on discrimination status in many African countries including South Africa, caused him not be able to enter any African countries south of Tanzania in one period.

This fighting spirit and understanding of the human right issue can be seen in his remarks as the president of International PEN Club that "PEN doesn't criticize political system like communism or capitalism, but is against unreasonable oppression of writers in each country."

As a "fighting PEN man" he expressed deep regret on the condition of south Korea in which human rights and freedom of speech are not respected at all.

He said, "That I deplore. In International PEN Club during the last years, we have campaigned all the time for the release of detained writers and free speech in south Korea, and I think every year in our writers' prison report we have had a south Korean discussion and we have tried to get the south Korean PEN center to act in a proper way.

"Special international PEN missions were sent to south Korea. One was led by vice-president Peter Elstob to see Kim Chi Ha in prison and to try to obtain his release. I think he has been one of the most prosecuted writers in the world, for which we have campaigned most. So, I hope for the release of anybody who is in prison for his writing," he added.

The International PEN Club was established on Oct. 5, 1921, shortly after the end of the First World War.

Some 40 writers gathered at the meeting held at the proposal of a British writer, Mrs. Scot. The main idea was to realize peace by rallying the strength of free pens on an international level and prevent recurrence of horror and tragedy of the world war.

This was the beginning of the International PEN Club today with 85 centers in more than 70 countries throughout the world.

Mr. Per Wästberg answers questions of a reporter of the People's Korea during a session of the 47th International PEN Congress held in Tokyo May 14 to 18.

Mr. Per Wästberg, two-term president of the International PEN Club since 1979, assessed the factors in the upsurge of the anti-nuclear movement in 1980s, and said "I think the reason are several factors. Most important is the cold war, increasing tension between superpowers. Other factors are policies of superpowers to build up their arms and to compete in armaments and a growing feeling in Europe that Europe has been used as hostage by both of superpowers. More and more countries get nuclear weapons, or at least 'peaceful' nuclear machineries. As a result, popular opinion is now heightening everywhere and this has very much to do with the writers, too. Also I think that it is because of the absence of any other compelling issues like the environment of pollution and the Vietnam War."

He concluded his interview with an emphasis on writers' fighting in their writings to prevent nuclear holocaust, saying as "Now, a real possibility of all mankind being extinguished is facing the writing profession."

(Continued from page 6)

Now let us recall that in a document known as Defense Report 1983, Defense Secretary Weinberger stated that the United States would automatically launch a nuclear attack against North Korea in the event of Soviet intervention in armed conflict in the Mideast. It seems that what Mr. Kissinger first suggested as a preemptive first strike against the Soviet Union has now been broadened under the Reagan Administration to include a first strike against North Korea, an ally of the Soviet Union. One has only to look at the headlines with the reports on shipments of oil through the Strait of Hormuz to realize that the danger of the Iran-Iraq war growing into a wider conflict is very great. Under the military plans of the Reagan Administration it is obvious that the possibility sharpens the danger of nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula.

Chief of Staff Meyer was questioned about the doctrine of attacking North Korea with nuclear weapons as a consequence of a war in the Middle East, a doctrine known euphemistically as horizontal escalation. General Meyer replied that the defense document that embodied the doctrine was not a directive but was for guidance only. It is difficult to see any great distinction between a document that is a directive and one that is for guidance only. Obviously General Meyer was striving to calm the fears of Koreans about the US using them as nuclear victims to be sacrificed, whether they liked it or not, to the rivalry of the super-powers.

My second major point about the danger of nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula has to do with the domestic political situation in south Korea. Specifically, I mean that it is my belief that with the absence of democracy and the presence of a military dictatorship in south Korea, the fact of nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula is a factor that increases the danger of nuclear war on that peninsula.

Let us consider first a more remote contingency – the possibility that the south Korean "government" might be able to construct a nuclear weapon, using the enriched plutonium that is the product of a nuclear reactor. There are several nuclear power plants in south Korea already built, or under construction. Some authorities believe that in these circumstances south Korea may be the source of nuclear proliferation, may be at some future time capable of producing its own nuclear weapons. That this would sharpen the danger of nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula goes without saying.

But how is it that in south Korea, the nuclear power industry is alive and flourishing while in the United States today it is almost dead. One very important reason is the fact that the United States is a democracy, whatever its faults may be. Consequently a US public opinion that has grown alarmed at the dangers it perceives in nuclear power has exerted sufficient pressure on government and private industry to stop further construction of nuclear power plants. Because there is dictatorship not democracy in south Korea, such effective public opinion does not exist.

But the results of such an absence of effective public opinion are to be seen in an even more immediate sense when one considers the danger of nuclear war arising from US possession of nuclear weapons in Korea.

When General Meyer remarked that it would be easier for the US to start nuclear war in south Korea than in Europe it was not only the large number of governments that would have to be consulted in Europe that constituted a hindrance – it was also especially the fact that these European governments were all democratic of one type or another, and thus subject to the pressure of public opinion. It was the fact that in most of these European nations there are very active peace movements agitating against nuclear war and exerting an influence on their respective governments. On the other hand the dictatorship of south Korea has not allowed the expression or organization of public opinion against nuclear war. Therefore if the US asked for permission to use nuclear weapons the south Korean "government" would not feel bound by the expression of peace sentiment coming from the Korean people. The dictatorship would feel free to give permission should it wish to do so.

It is the presence of an effective peace movement in the democratic European environment (West Germany) that makes the danger of nuclear war in Europe a lesser possibility. It is the absence of an effective peace movement, (an effective public opinion), in the condition of the south Korean dictatorship, that makes the danger of nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula a greater quantity.

As a citizen of the United States confronted with a chief executive who is very inclined to engage in force in foreign military adventures, I have come to appreciate the value and power of an effective public opinion operating in a democratic environment.

Congressman Alexander from Arkansas recently discussed the US position with relation to El Salvador. He said, "... I think that, but for Congress, the Administration would be shooting already." But representative Alexander's analysis must be carried one step further. If Congress puts a check on Reagan's bellicosity, it is the pressure of popular opposition to US military intervention abroad that pushes Congress into this role.

When the lessons of the Mideast where the danger of US intervention is now discussed on the front pages, the same lesson can be drawn. It was the opposition of US public opinion that forced Reagan to withdraw the marines from Lebanon, and that will, we hope, put a check on renewed US plans for intervention today.

Consider this in connection with the case of south Korea. In September 1975 an alarmed Korean politician made a public statement criticizing the US for its Korean policy, which seemed to be designed solely to serve US priorities, while disregarding the true interests of the Korean people. In his statement, he asked, "If atomic weapons are used, what guarantees do we have that the other side will not also resort to them, and "what will be the point of living in a land of atomic ashes?"

The politician, Mr. Yang Il Dong, President of the Democratic Unification Party, was immediately arrested by the "Korean CIA" for making this "subversive" statement, and subjected to physical pain and mental humiliation in the torture chamber. Needless to say his statement and subsequent torture were never reported in Korean newspapers.

A Japanese friend tells me that yesterday's *Asahi Shimbun* carried a story from a Seoul paper the *Daily Toa* that 23 Korean intellectuals, including professors and doctors, have signed a public statement calling for the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from south Korea. The 23 intellectuals declared, "We desire reunion and peace for the Korean Peninsula, and we strongly oppose the deployment here of nuclear weapons."

I sincerely hope that those 23 brave Koreans will not be persecuted, but will be instead the first sign of an effective public opinion that will bring about the eventual removal of nuclear weapons and lessen the danger of nuclear catastrophe. As a US citizen I wish to thank those 23 Koreans for their brave stand. The position they have taken is not only in the interests of the Korean people; it is in the interests of the US people, in the interest of all peoples on the planet.

Korea – New Nuclear Flash Point

EDITOR'S NOTE: Here is a gist of an article written by Bruce Cumings, a professor at the University of Washington. The article appeared in the April 7, 1984 issue of The Nation magazine. In the article Bruce Cumings discusses the danger of nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula and attacks American nuclear policy. He supports the DPRK call for three-way talks on reducing tensions on the Korean Peninsula and urges the withdrawal of all the U.S. nuclear weapons from south Korea.

On September 1, 1983, a Soviet Su-15 shot down a Korean Air Lines 747, causing a U.S.-Soviet diplomatic confrontation which occupied the world's attention for a few weeks, only to fade as Beirut heated up. On October 9, terrorists in Rangoon, Burma, exploded a bomb during preparations for a wreath-laying ceremony, killing four members of the South Korean Cabinet and barely missing President Chun Doo Hwan. In the immediate aftermath U.S., South Korean and North Korean troops went on alert. Diplomats reported that tension had been building to a high pitch for months, and Rangoon ratcheted it up to the level of extreme danger. A flash point that could detonate a nuclear attack had been reached in Korea, and not for the first time. Yet Rangoon was quickly forgotten. The K.A.L. and Rangoon incidents spotlighted the long-simmering tensions in Korea and the fact that no one seems to pay attention to them.

Since February, 207,000 U.S. and South Korean troops have been participating in Team Spirit '84, the largest peacetime military exercise held in Korea since 1945. A similar exercise in 1976 involved only 46,000 troops. Army, Marine, Navy and Air Force units based in the United States, Okinawa, Guam and Japan were flown in for the annual maneuvers, which have drawn Japanese participation (no troops) in recent years. The exercise dwarfs the Big Pine war games in Honduras, which have received far more attention in the press, and is on a larger scale than the Red Army maneuvers in and around Poland in 1981. Since the instability and rebellion of 1979-80 in South Korea, American national security planners have been worried about rising discontent with the Chun regime, and Team Spirit may be intended to intimidate South Korean dissidents.

> *"In an unprecedented letter to Congress and President Reagan in early January, the North Koreans called for three-way talks between the United States, South Korea and North Korea (D.P.R.K.) to reduce tensions on the peninsula."*
>
> *" . . . . the United States should not be deterred from responding favorably to the North Korean overture. After all, Jimmy Carter made a similar proposal in June 1979. Moreover, this country should remove all its nuclear weapons from South Korea forthwith."*

In an unprecedented letter to Congress and President Reagan in early January, the North Koreans called for three-way talks between the United States, South Korea and North Korea (D.P.R.K.) to reduce tensions on the peninsula. They wrote that "the present situation is strained so extremely that an accidental trifling incident might trigger off a war at any minute. . . . [Such a war] would inevitably expand into a nuclear war." In early February the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "Pyongyang is afraid of an American nuclear attack, which it says it sees as possible after the U.S. invasion of Grenada."

The article quoted a Western diplomat as saying that North Korea's perceptions "are so warped, so weird, that you do not have the slightest idea what makes the country tick." But is it "warped" and "weird" for them to worry about nuclear attack?

Quite the contrary. North Korean behavior is an understanding response to three decades of American nuclear policy. There is no moral justification for that policy: it threatens a nonnuclear nation with nuclear annihilation. There is no strategic rationale for it: if there ever was one, it disappeared with the Sino-Soviet split a quarter-century ago, and North Korea has no certainty of backing from either China or the Soviet Union, especially if threatened with nuclear weapons. There is no geopolitical justification for the policy: the D.P.R.K. is China's best friend, and a friend of our friend should not be the object of nuclear intimidation. Yet putting the argument in those terms trivializes the enormity of the American threat, compared to which U.S. nuclear policy in Europe seems restrained and sensible.

Thirty years after the end of the Korean War, 40,000 American troops are locked in a confrontation with the North Koreans at the 38th parallel. They serve as a "tripwire deterrent," assuring Seoul of U.S. involvement in a potential war with the North. Since 1958 U.S. forces there have stockpiled tactical nuclear weapons, in violation of the 1953 Armistice Agreement, and several Administrations have brandished them to discourage a North Korean conventional attack. According to the best available information, the United States has about 250 such weapons in South Korea. These include twenty-one "atomic demolition munitions" – nuclear mines – which could be detonated along the demilitarized zone by remote control in the event of an invasion. The arsenal for American fighter-bombers stationed in South Korea includes nearly 140 nuclear bombs. U.S. forces in the field are armed with 155- millimeter and 8-inch nuclear shells; until the late 1970s, they were also armed with Nike-Hercules and Honest John nuclear-tipped short-range missiles. Former U.S. Air Force pilots told me that B-52s based in Guam periodically make simulated nuclear-bombing runs on the North, and that fighters in Japan are routinely scrambled and sent winging toward North Korea, to be recalled at the last minute. North Korean jets regularly howl southward on their drills.

Most experts agree that the likeliest cause of a full-scale nuclear war would be a regional conflict that got out of hand. U.S. nuclear contingency plans assume that a North Korean invasion will touch off World War III. As Freeman Dyson wrote in the February 20 issue of *The New Yorker:*

Tactical nuclear weapons deployed in forward positions overseas are fundamentally more dangerous to world peace than strategic weapons deployed in silos and submarines. . . . Compared with the immediate danger that a local conflict in an area of tactical-weapons deployment might escalate into nuclear chaos, the instabilities of the strategic-arms race are remote and theoretical.

And in the Spring 1982 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert McNamara and Gerard Smith pointed out:

The only clearly definable firebreak against the worldwide disaster of general nuclear war is the one that stands between all other kinds of conflict and any use whatsoever of nuclear weapons. To keep that firebreak wide and strong is in the deepest interest of all mankind.

In Korea the firebreak is too narrow, made that way deliberately by U.S. strategic planners. For years the D.P.R.K. has complained about the nuclear threat, and lately South Koreans too have begun to realize that they are hostages to weapons over which they have not the slightest control. Thier opinions are not asked; they are expected to accept the situation. Last August, Lee Young-hee, a South Korean college professor, published an article in *Kidokkyo Sasang* ("Christian Thought") criticizing American nuclear policies. His article caused a minor sensation, especially in Japan, where it was quickly translated and published in *Sekai* ("The World"). It was also disseminated widely among the Korean community in the United States. In January, Professor Lee was jailed by the Chun regime. His arrest, and those of two other intellectuals for advocating reunification, came two days after the unprecedented D.P.R.K. letter was sent to Washington.

The North Koreans have revealed that the last September the United States and China had secretly approached them about holding informal talks. Indeed, the day before the Rangoon bombing, Beijing publicly offered its good offices to defuse North-South tensions.

. . . . the United States should not be deterred from responding favorably to the North Korean overture. After all, Jimmy Carter made a similar proposal in June 1979. Moreover, this country should remove all its nuclear weapons from South Korea forthwith. Unfortunately, the possibility of that happening is highly unlikely. U.S. weapons are there for reasons that are irrefutable because they are not demonstrable, as Nietzsche observed in a far different context. **(To be continued)**

Bruce Cumings teaches East Asian politics and political economy at the University of Washington. He is author of The Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes 1944-1947 *(Princeton University Press).*

New Anti-Chon Moves

Surging Anti-"Government" Struggle on Campus

Marking the fourth anniversary of the Kwangju popular uprising, a significant date on the calendar of dissident in south Korea, students of more than 20 universities held fierce anti-government demonstrations.

On May 17, 5,000 students of Yonsei University, a prestigeous private school in Seoul, staged an anti-"government" demonstration after Kim Yong Sam, former President of the now defunct New Democratic Party failed to make a scheduled speech on south Korean democratization at their rally.

They tried to take to the streets but, were turned back by firing tear gas-riot police.

An associate of Mr. Kim revealed on May 17 night, three ranking Yonsei officials had called on him at his home and appealed to him not to attend the meeting.

A second student-police clash occured at Koryo University, another major private institution in Seoul. Before a demonstration, they put on a stage drama exposing the Kwangju Massacre as a memorial service for its victims.

More than 1,500 students hurling rocks clashed with riot police firing tear gas when they tried to run out of campus for a demonstration.

Similar services were held on the campus of Sung Kyun Kwan University, a private school in the city, followed by a clash between students and police.

Sources said there also were disturbances at Seoul National University, where a sharp confrontation had taken place May 16 and at Dongguk, Sookmyung Women's universities and Kyung Hee University, private schools of the city.

Meanwhile, more than 200 students of Chonnam University, a national school, in Kwangju, were reportedly fasting for 3 days on end in demand of democracy.

On May 18, the second consecutive day of widespread demonstrations held to mark the fourth anniversary of the Kwangju uprising, thousands of students at more than 15 universities waged the anti-"government" demonstrations.

Denouncing the Chon Du Hwan "regime" as "undemocratic" and "dictatorial", the students marched through the streets of Seoul, Pusan and Kwangju.

Meanwhile, 1,000 students of Chonnam University in Kwangju held a memorial service at the graveyard of the victims of the Kwangju uprising and staged a street demonstration.

On May 21, they again staged an anti-"government" demonstration, in support of the 20 students staging a hunger strike for the seventh consecutive day demanding for the democratisation of campus and society.

The 800 students of the university on May 20, too, held a demonstration against the attempt by the "regime" and university authorities to forcibly disperse the campus fast. Throughout south Korea, at least 20 universities and colleges were the scene of demonstrations with at least 10,000 students taking part for this period.

Police said 807 students were taken into police custody, and all were released by May 19, excluding 59 student activists.

Dissidents Form Anti- "Government" Organization

A group of political dissidents led by Kim Yong Sam, President of the now outlawed New Democratic Party of south Korea, announced the formation of "the Committee to Push for Democratization" May 18, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Kwangju uprising, and first anniversary of his hunger strike and made public an 8-point statement of "Struggle for Democratization".

The statement challenged the legitimacy of the present Chon "government", referring to his rise to "power" under "martial law" and through the suppression of the Kwangju uprising.

They demanded: 1) The military stay away from politics and return to its original duty 2) Political freedom should be restored for opposition politicians still banned from politics and Kim Dae Jung now in exile in the U.S. allowed to return home 3) A guarantee should be provided for the human rights of laborers and their rights for existence . . .

Since the start of the Chon "regime", it is the first time for the opposition forces to form a formal unified political organization and it is expected to give great influence to future of democratic movement.

Kim Yong Sam Denies Presence Of Democracy

In a statement marking the fourth anniversary of the Kwangju uprising and the first anniversary of his hunger strike, former opposition leader Kim Yong Sam declared on May 21 that "no steps whatever have been taken to move this nation closer to democracy." Kim, meeting with reporters at his home in Seoul, distributed a lengthy "Message to the People of Korea "in which he was sharply critical of the present "government".

He stated, "the time has come for us to cast off our fear, open our gagged mouths and call forth a storm of speech," and noted that fear of the strength of the people on the part of the "government" was the best way to prevent dictatorship and bring about democracy."

He repeated his demand for the release of the illegally jailed dissidents, the lifting of political bans and for a free press and direct presidential election.

He said he would willingly carry any burden required for the "establishment of democracy."

Kim formerly headed the now outlawed New Democratic Party.

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